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[FROM THE NEW ENGLANDER AND YALE REVIEW FOR Oct., 1891.]

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HOW YALE GREW TO BE A NATIONAL UNIVERSITY.

By William Lathroh Kingsless
In the February number (1890) of this Review, we had occasion to speak of the prestige of Yale as a "national university." No other college in the country draws so large a number of students from so wide an area. Its graduates are in every State of the Union-we might say, in every town of any considerable size. Its faculties, though for the most part made up of its own alumni, include Professors selected from the alumni of more than a dozen other institutions of learning. Its students belong to families connected with all the different religious denominations, and all these denominations are also represented among its instructors. The spirit which rules on the campus is thoroughly American, and democratic, in the true sense of that term. For, coming as the students do from parts of the country the most remote from each other, the result is that no State or group of States, no city, no preparatory school, no religious sect, no social condition arising from the possession of wealth, or from the lack of it, has ever had any such preponderating influence as to give rise to any spirit of exclusiveness or cliquishness. It is the tradition of the place, intensified by that institution which was so long and so affectionately known as "the fence," that each student on the campus stands on an equal footing, and has an equal chance for every honor within the gift of his fellow students. Mr. Henry Holt, of New York, recently said: "Among the traditions of the university, respect for manhood holds the first rank;" and, referring to the fact, so thoroughly understood by all college men, that tradition is the influence that is second to no other in moulding the character and the views of students, he added: "the Yale campus is the one place of all I ever knew where a man's accidents however brilliant are subordinated to his essentials however sober—the one place where the democratic phrases of Rousseau and Jefferson are facts."

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But this is by no means all. In the Article to which we have referred, we called attention to the fact that the prestige of Yale as a national institution is nothing new. It was as marked in the first decade of the nineteenth century as it is now in the last decade; and, even throughout the century before, the high estimation in which the college was held attracted a large number of students from beyond the limits of the colony in which it was located. Yale has always been national in its aims, in its character, and in its reputation.

We had expected to give, in the Article referred to, some explanation of the reason for this, but the space then at our disposal prevented our saying what we had in mind.

In now attempting to give the explanation, it will be necessary to go back of the year 1700—the year usually assigned for the founding of the "Collegiate School"—to the year 1638, the year of the settlement of the town of New Haven. It is very generally known that the men who first came to these shores, with this object in view, had for their leaders several wealthy London merchants, who were associated with others in that city of similar standing. These associates, though left behind when the first company took their departure, had expected to follow. They had shared in all the preliminary counsels of the plantationcompany, but, after the departure of those who went as pioneers, were prevented from carrying out their design of emigrating to take part in the work, by the political changes which were soon brought about in England. Now it can by no means be supposed that these London merchants, with the experience and knowledge of affairs which they possessed, would embark in an enterprise in which they were to risk their lives and their prop erty, without having a definite object in view, and without first forming a well digested plan to secure it. The promptness with which the founders of the colony proceeded on their arrival to carry out their designs, is very conclusive evidence that every particular had been considered and every detail provided for,* as

*For a single illustration of this, look at the broad and regular streets and the large central "Green," which were laid out as soon as the first company of settlers landed. All this must have been thought of, and prepared for, beforehand. The engineering skill which was displayed, it is said, cannot be surpassed to-day. Compare what was done in New Haven with the crooked and irregular lanes and

far as possible, before that part of the company which was to make the settlement left England. The leaders, also, of these pioneers were men who had travelled on the continent, and had visited different countries, and seen the great cities of Europe. So it was hoped that, with the advantages to be derived from their wealth, from their acquaintance with other lands, and from the experience which could be gained by observing what had been done in the older New England colonies, they could build a new commonwealth which should be kept entirely independent of England, and which would be prosperous, self-supporting, and enduring. Their special hope and expectation was that all this would be secured if the whole population could be educated, and brought under the influence of a living personal Christian faith. It was then to secure the realization of this idea that they planned there should be not only schools for all, but that the colony should be provided, from the first, with all those higher institutions which give dignity and importance to a State. A college and a public library were held to be an essential part of such a plan. Accordingly they brought with them a classical instructor, and when the first allotment of land was made to the members of their company, suitable grounds were at the same time set apart for the college, and provision was made for its support.

In any proper conception therefore of the early history of Yale, it is to be remembered that a college was an integral part of the plan of the original settlers, formed undoubtedly before they left London, and that this plan was never for one moment lost sight of.

As soon as it was known in Massachusetts, where Harvard College had two years before been founded, that the New Haven colonists had set apart land and were taking measures for establishing a college, a remonstrance was sent on, and it was very properly urged that New England was not large enough to support two colleges. This remonstrance was heeded, and as evi-

cow-paths which were to be seen at that time in Boston and New York. The traveller in Central Europe, who visits the old city of Nuremberg, even while driving to his hotel, is impressed with the evidence presented by the streets that here was once a great commercial city, with a population far larger than at present. So the streets of New Haven, unchanged for more than two hundred and fifty years, show on the first glance that the men who laid them out knew what a great city would require, and, from the throwing of the first shovel full of sand, had made all proper preparation for it in advance.

dence that the New Haven colonists regarded the cause of the higher education as of more importance than the immediate realization of their own views, the General Court of the "Jurisdiction" ordered that a contribution should be taken up yearly in all the towns for the benefit of Harvard. The Governor of the colony, Theophilus Eaton, sent also, as his personal subscription, £50 sterling.

It is not necessary for our purpose to follow with any particularity all that was done by the people of New Haven, year after year, for the furtherance of this project of a college. It is enough to say that it was never lost sight of by the "General Court of the Jurisdiction." At length in 1657, on the death in England of Governor Hopkins, who was one of the original promoters of the New Haven colony, a bequest which was made in his will became available, which was thought sufficient to make it possible to begin the long desired institution, and so much was at once done, that, in the public documents of the time, the institution, the foundation of which was then made, was spoken of as the "college already begun." This, it should be noted, was in 1660. But at that time, the colony was suffering from the effects of the many disasters which had befallen it, and the "Hopkins College" never in fact rose above the grade of a Grammar School. As such, however, it has survived uninterruptedly to this day.

It was soon discovered that this attempt to found a college was premature, but the old plan was not given up; and when, not long after, the Rev. Mr. Pierpont succeeded the Rev. Mr. Davenport, who had been the first minister of the town, he found himself among a people who still cherished the hope of seeing New Haven a college town. Mr. Pierpont, as a member also of the ecclesiastical "Association," which, according to New England custom, comprised the ministers of the different towns of the old New Haven Jurisdiction, was associated with a body of colleagues who all felt that a certain responsibility rested upon them to carry out the design of their predecessors.*

We may now inquire what had been the obstacle up to this time that had prevented the establishment of the institution, to which ministers and laymen had all felt themselves pledged for

* Rev. Leonard Bacon many years ago said to the present writer, that the way that the college was founded can be fully understood only by one who is familiar with the constitution of a Congregational "Association." It was undoubtedly in the old New Haven "Association" of ministers that the plan for the college was finally matured.

more than sixty years. The answer is that though one in thirty of the graduates of Harvard, from 1636 to 1700, had come from this distant town, yet the area of the colony of New Haven had been as yet manifestly too small for a separate college of its own. Exactly how much Mr. Pierpont had personally to do with the new movement which was at once attempted can now, after two centuries, never be precisely ascertained. But from tradition, and from what we know of his sagacity, and from the leading part which he took ever after as long as he lived in all that concerned the college, we may feel sure that it was he who suggested that the solution of the problem was to be found in enlarging the area from which the institution was to draw its support.

In the first place, it was proposed that an effort should be made to widen this area on the East. Up to this time, the idea of a college had been entirely a New Haven idea. The people of that colony had been from the first a singularly homogeneous people. They cherished the tradition also of having been originally independent. There still existed among them a jealousy of Connecticut, to which the territory of their own colony had been annexed by the English government contrary to their own wishes. The people of New Haven differed also from the people of Connecticut in several important particulars, which it is not now necessary to mention, but the fact should be kept in mind, for it affected succeeding events both in the history of the college and also in the history of the colony.

In conformity, therefore, with the new policy, three of the ablest and most influential clergymen of the original Connecticut Colony were invited to take part in the new enterprise, by those who had originally planned it; and the New Haven men so far deferred to them, as to consent that the college should be "for the present" located in Saybrook, that "so all parts of Connecticut colony with the neighboring colony may [might] be best accommodated."

It was expected also that students might be depended on from Long Island, a part of which had originally been comprised within the jurisdiction of New Haven.

But the more important feature of the new policy was that it contemplated the possibility of enlarging the area, from which the college might draw students, towards the west. The colonies in that direction were increasing in population and wealth. The old jealousies between the people of the middle and the southern colonies and the people of New England were disappearing. A part of New Jersey, even, had been settled by New Haven people, and there was still a close intimacy kept up between their descendants. There was no other college which could compete with the proposed institution except the new college of William and Mary in Virginia. Such then was the outlook, and such were the possibilities as contemplated by the light of the new project, when the little body of clergymen from New Haven supplemented by three from Connecticut, with many misgivings and fears, as we may well suppose, decided to make a second effort to establish a "collegiate school."

The event proved that they were not too sanguine in their Soon came students from the prosperous towns of expectations. Long Island. In time, from New York came the Livingstons, the Peartree Smiths, and the Van Rensselaers. Young men from New Jersey and from the colonies further south followed. The sons of these early alumni came in their turn, and then the sons of these sons, generation after generation, in the natural order of things to the present day; and the halls of Yale, and the elms of New Haven, and the grand old rocks that rise high above them on every side, as giant sentinels and landmarks far out over the blue waters of the Sound, were endeared forever in the affections of a constantly increasing number of families in every colony from Byram River to South Carolina, Georgia, and the Gulf.

The whole story of the way that Yale became a national university is not yet by any means told, but whatever prominence it has to-day is due first, and especially, to that body of New Haven ministers who two hundred years ago had the foresight at the fitting moment to plan so wisely for the centuries that were waiting to unfold. The determination of those men to enlarge the area from which students might be drawn was essential to the very existence of the institution.

We pass now to a second reason why the little "collegiate school" became in time of national importance. The reason is to be found in the fact that, from the very first, it was brought under influences entirely unlike those which have affected, or can possibly ever again affect any other educational institution in the country; and which tended to eliminate as fast as possible any-

thing that might have been provincial, and to put it in sympathy with the people of all parts of the country.

What we refer to is something which did not at all enter into the anticipations of the men who, at last in 1700, were brought to see the fact that the cause of their having been obliged to wait during those long sixty years before they could begin their college was that the area of New Haven was too small to support it. That which happened, to give shape and character to their institution after they had established it, was an event that carried in its train results which attracted the attention of De Tocqueville, and which he declared to be one of the marvels of American history. The little colony of Connecticut began itself to enlarge its area, and to evolve from its scanty population what was affectionately called a "New Connecticut"! And, in time, other "New Connecticuts" followed, one after another, till at last a series of them extended to the Rocky Mountains and to the Pacific.

We have alluded to the fact that Long Island was originally a part of the "Jurisdiction of New Haven," and that the New Haven people also early settled northern New Jersey. It should be mentioned, also, that at a still earlier date, some of the towns of Western Massachusetts were so allied to Connecticut that for a short time they were represented in the General Court at Hartford. But soon Berkshire County, and the "river counties" of Massachusetts-Hampden, Hampshire, and Franklin -were to a great extent settled by families which moved in from Others not long after pushed on to Vermont, Connecticut. which was the first one of those regions that were called "New Connecticut," to which we have alluded. The one hundredth anniversary of the battle of Bennington, which has been so appropriately celebrated within the past few weeks, has called to mind once more the old time connection between the two States. There is scarcely to-day a family in Connecticut, of the original stock, that has not its "branch" in Berkshire County, and above Professor Edward J. Phelps, in his eloquent all in Vermont. commemorative Address, places next after General Stark, as the heroes of the Green Mountain State, the names of Ethan Allen and of Seth Warner, both of whom were true born Connecticut men.

What Connecticut had to do, also, with the settlement of Central and Western New York may be sufficiently illustrated by

the mention of the single fact that when, in 1821, the Constitution of that State was revised, thirty-two of the one hundred and twenty-six members who composed the Convention were natives of Connecticut,* and it has been claimed that if to them had been

* Dr. Horace Bushnell says of this same Constitutional Convention: "Of the sons of Massachusetts, which State, according to the ratio of population, in order to be on an equality with Connecticut, ought to have had about seventy, there were only nine." He adds: "I found, on inquiry (1846 or 1847) that the New York Legislature contained that year fifteen natives of Connecticut; while of Massachusetts there were only nine; though, according to her ratio of numbers, there should have been about forty. He says further: "The late Hon. James Hillhouse, when he was in Congress, ascertained that forty-seven of the members or about one-fifth of the whole number in both houses, were native born sons of Connecticut. Hon. John C. Calhoun, also, assured one of our representatives, when upon the floor of the House with him, that he had seen the time when the natives of Connecticut, together with the graduates of Yale College, there collected, wanted only five of being a majority of that body. I took some pains, myself, in the winter, I think, of 1843, to ascertain how the composition of the Congress stood at that time. There could not, of course, be as many native citizens of Connecticut among the members as in the days of Mr. Hillhouse; but, including native citizens and descendants born out of the State, I found exactly his number: forty-seven. Of the New York representation, sixteen, or two-fifths, were sons, or descendants in the male line, of Connecticut. Saying nothing of descendants born out of the State, there were, at that time, eighteen native born sons of Connecticut in the Congress. According to the Blue Book, Massachusetts had seventeen, when, taken in the proportion of members, she should have had forty-two. New Hampshire should have had eighteen also, but had only seven; Vermont eighteen, but had only four; Louisiana eighteen, but had only two; New Jersey twenty-one, but had only nine."

An Article in the Century Magazine for September, 1891, prepared by Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, with the title "The Distribution of Ability in the United States," is worth consulting. This writer has taken, as his basis of calculation, Appleton's "Encyclopedia of American Biography," where the number of names of all Americans who have been more or less distinguished reaches 14.243. Of this total number of names, as Mr. Cabot Lodge has classified and tabulated them, according to the place of birth of each, it appears that, as divided among the States, the little State of Connecticut is the fourth on the list. Massachusetts is first; New York, second; and Pennsylvania, third. But, "in proportion to its population," Mr. Lodge says: "Connecticut leads every other State in the total amount of ability." In this list, of course, the descendants of Connecticut families, born in other States, do not appear. For instance, in the army list of Connecticut, Gen. Grant, Gen. Sherman, Gen. McClellan, and a host of others, who were all descendants of well known Connecticut families, are not counted. Neither does such a name as that of William H. Seward appear among the statesmen of Connecticut, though he was born just over the line in the State of New York, only a few weeks after his parents had emigrated to that State. During the presidential campaign of 1881, attention was called to the fact that the first American ancestors of both the Republican and the Democratic candiadded the descendants of Connecticut men who were born in New York—not to speak of those who were descended from Connecticut men who had come in by the way of Vermont, Massachusetts, and New Jersey, they would probably have been found to constitute a majority of that body. It is not many years ago that it was stated that the merchants in South Street and Front Street, in New York City, who were born in Connecticut, formed an important part of the business men of that great commercial center. At the time of which we speak, the captains also of the famous "liners" that sailed from New York to Liverpool came to a great extent from "the River," as it was termed—which entered the Sound at Lyme and Saybrook.

There was a "new Connecticut" in northeastern Pennsylvania and along the banks of the Susquehanna.

There was another "new Connecticut" in the northern part of Ohio. As late as 1838, in the lower house of the legislature of that State, there were twelve members who were born in Connecticut from among the seventy-four who held seats in that body. From Massachusetts there were only two, and from Vermont two.

We have not looked for statistics. But similar facts that substantiate what we have stated are writ large all through the history of northern Illinois, of Michigan, of Wisconsin, of Iowa, of Kansas, of Minnesota, and of all that line of States, through to the Pacific. Connecticut men have gone everywhere in this country. Even in Georgia, there was a settlement of Connecticut men, which they named "Liberty County," and it was to the influence of these men that it was due, that, when the people of Georgia in the time of the Revolution hesitated to join in the cause, the State was finally represented in Congress and shared in the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

To-day, Connecticut men are scattered everywhere in the United States, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The little colony, so straitened in all its resources in 1700, has enlarged its area a thousand fold. It is in this fact that the explanation is to be found of that which excited the surprise of De Tocqueville. It is in this fact also that one of the reasons is to be found why

dates were among the original settlers of New Haven. The tomb of the first ancestor of Rutherford B. Hayes is under the Center Church; that of the first ancestor of Gov. Tilden is only a few feet distant, just outside the southern wall of the same church.

a hundred years ago as truly as to-day Yale was national in its character. There is nothing new in this. For two hundred years Connecticut men have been establishing themselves all over this country, and, whether they were themselves graduates of the College or not, they carried with them the feeling that their sons must go back to its halls for their education.

There is still another reason which should be mentioned. Connecticut has been, from 1700, not only the leading emigrant State, but her people have also been pioneers in sending home missionaries to follow her sons and daughters as they made new homes for themselves. These missionaries, also, contributed to the spread of the name and early reputation of the college.

More than a hundred years before the American Home Missionary Society was formed, the General Association of the ministers of Connecticut began to plant churches in Rhode Island and in New Hampshire. As the emigration turned westward, there was not a moment lost. We have no space for details, but what was done may be illustrated by the words of a "Commission" given to one of these early Home Missionaries. We find it on the first pages of the history that is lying on the table before us. The home missionary to whom this commission was given was directed to go to the "north and south of the Mohawk River, to Otsego and Herkimer counties, and as far westward as the settlements proper to be visited."

In due time, this missionary, in his "report," sent a map of the unknown country in which he had been laboring—that region which is now so full of populous towns and cities. He speaks of Utica as "Fort Schuyler," and says it is composed of "a log tavern and two or three other buildings." In a later report, he gives another map, in which Utica appears as "Old Fort Schuyler." He speaks, too, of "Fort Stanwix," by which he means the town which we know as "Rome." He gives an account, also, of "the first regular preaching service ever attended in Manlius, in the center of New York, and of another service in Pompey, ten miles further south, "the first ever attended there."

Now, nearly three hundred such home missionaries were sent from Connecticut for a similar purpose, and the whole valley of the Mississippi was dotted with them to the Rocky Mountains. The names alone of these men cover pages, and a very brief examination of them shows why it is that for all the years since, every State in the West, after it had taken its place in the Union, sent year after year a quota of students to New Haven. It was only natural that the sons of these Connecticut missionaries should come to New Haven for their education.

A fourth reason is to be found in what has been done by the authorities of the college in assisting in the foundation of other colleges. Even fifty years ago, Yale had long been honored as the "Mother of Colleges." We have already spoken of the spirit of the churches of Connecticut, which led them to send ministers to the new settlements. The very same spirit animated the authorities of the college, and led them to feel that it was not only their duty as Christians, but a duty which, as enlightened and patriotic men, they owed to their country, to assist in laying everywhere the foundations of similar institutions for the promotion of the higher education, as a means of raising the standards of society and giving proper direction to the patriotism of the new commonwealths of the West. The present generation will never realize what the whole country owes to the people of all the different New England States for work of this kind. It was once no uncommon thing to hear it said that the West was rich enough to found its own institutions. But ability and disposition to act did not, unfortunately, go together. So it was under influences which went out from all New England that so many colleges were founded, in State after State. But in this work. Connecticut and Yale took the lead. The authorities of the college never failed to use their influence of every kind to inspire all patriotic friends of their country to labor for this end. Repeatedly, bands of young men left the halls of their alma mater to found new colleges in the West.

This generous work of a hundred years of course had a reflex influence, and in time left an enduring mark on the whole spirit and character of the institution. The disposition to extend sympathy and assistance in every possible way to each and all the newer institutions of learning throughout the country became a marked characteristic of Yale. The general cause of education has always been held here to be of greater importance than the success and prosperity of any one institution—not even excepting her own.

There are of course other reasons connected with the history of modern times, which explain the later development of the University. But we do not propose to speak of these. Our object, in the present Article, has been to call attention only to those influences which affected the institution in its infancy, and which are not so apparent and are not so generally known. Especially, we'wished to call attention to the fact that the establishment of a college was a part of the original plan of the founders of the colony of New Haven in 1638; that, for sixty years, they and their successors met with discouragement after discouragement; and that, at last, when the little "collegiate school" was founded, the soil proved favorable beyond all that they could have anticipated. The destinies of the College became providentially associated with those of the one people, of all others in the original colonies, who were to spread themselves the most widely over the continent; and the descendants of Connecticut men carried the name of Yale everywhere.

Then, when the foundations had been laid firm and deep, the college began, under the wise administration of the elder President Dwight, to extend in every direction; and to grow out of all that was local and provincial. How much more national in its character it became, than any other college in the country, we illustrated in the Article which we have referred to above [Feb., 1890]. In the analysis which was here given, of the annual Catalogues of Harvard and Yale, just fifty years before, it appeared that, in 1839, the homes of two-fifths of all the students in the four classes at Harvard might be said to have been within sight of the Boston State House; while, at Yale, the number of students in a single class who came from outside of all New England was more than double the total number of such students in all the four classes at Harvard taken together. To-day, there is no college in the country which draws its students from so wide an area.

We shall have more to say on this subject in the future; but, at present, the simple statement is enough that the dream of the founders of New Haven in 1638 has been more than realized. The University, which they planned, looks out to-day on the fair "Green" which they laid out, and which—two hundred and fifty-three years ago—they hoped might some day be graced by the Halls of such a seat of learning as they had seen and known in

England and afterwards in Holland. The blue colors of that University are displayed in the homes of thousands of its living graduates, North, South, East, West, throughout the valley of the Mississippi, in the Pacific States, and everywhere from the Lakes to the Gulf; and if we add the homes where survive the traditions which have been handed down from father, and father's fathers, for three, four, five, six, and seven generations—these thousands swell to many tens of thousands.

All the sympathies and traditions of Yale are broad as the territory of our common country. Yale can never be aught but national.

A single word as to the future!

From time to time we hear of a proposition that Congress shall establish a "National University" at Washington, and maintain it at the expense of the Federal Government.

It is very natural that, with the rapid growth of our population and of our resources, and with the anticipations which we confidently cherish of a still more marvelous expansion in the future, there should be an enthusiastic feeling aroused, that we must have institutions of learning whose dignity and importance shall be commensurate with the numbers and wealth of the nation. But we have said enough perhaps to show that a true "National University" must be something which is the result of favorable conditions and the growth of centuries.

There is no question that the "National University" of the future will be something more extended than anything we have at present. But we have no fear that Yale will not be equal to all that may be required to maintain the position which she has held for near two centuries. The President, in his last "Report" shows that he is aware of what is needed.

The "National University" of the future will have many important questions to deal with;—the improvement perhaps of modes of instruction; University extension; suitable provision for original workers in science and philosophy and other departments of knowledge; and—not of least importance—the higher education of women. The success of Wellesley, of Smith, of Vassar, and the character of their graduates, make it certain that the American woman of the future will be an educated woman. The day of the mere butterflies of society is nearly over!

We have shown how the difficult problem which confronted the friends of the College in 1700 was solved. It was to James Pierpont—the founder of the institution—we owe it, that it was then determined to enlarge the area from which the College might draw its support. The graduates of Yale are confident that their present President—the lineal descendant of that honored founder, in the seventh generation—will be able to solve the new problem, when it is brought before him, in the manner suggested by his ancestor, and that, under his guidance, the area of the scope of the University will be so enlarged as to meet all the requirements which may then be thought necessary to make it the National University of the future.

WILLIAM L. KINGSLEY.





